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limb.[1] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil an animal with a head [2] you will always be able to eat. 867 554

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerating any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[3] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise. 867 765 554

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul and it will always be happy.[4] If you should ever desire to return to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle. 867 721 775

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future house, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry. 867 785 787

[1] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy and the three honors connected with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body." [555]

[2] That is, wherever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors [557 262]

[3] At the death of a chieftain an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of the whirls surrounds one of the heavenly curtains through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling." 765 775

[4] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the conquered envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he can send human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible. 774 775

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832 fulfill all the conditions I dig them out and mix them together with
278 their own roots. Then I take the blossom of the male and mix it together with the center leaf of the female flower. After that both are ground together thoroughly. Then I go to the woman I wish to court and, at night, when she is asleep, I touch first any part of her body, then a place not far from her heart, and finally the top of her head with this mixture. Finally I make her smell it. I then wake her up and go home. The girl will wonder who had touched her and she will think a good deal about the incident and never forget it. The next time I see her she will like me and she will do whatever I ask of her. The medicine would be working. If I did not see her for a long time, she would get lonesome, and the only thing that would cure her would be to marry me.

There is another medicine which I am now going to describe. When it first sprouts, which is in the spring, it is quite white. This must be taken and dried. Then one must chew it and go near the woman with whom one desires to talk. Approach her on the side from which the wind is blowing so that she can smell the medicine. As soon as she smells it, even although the man chewing it is one whom she has hitherto disliked, she will get to like him. This is the way in which the medicine works.

755 A man who was blessed was told of all these things. He cured all
[752] diseases. If a person had been shot and one blessed with the stench-earth medicine was called, he could be cured. In the same manner, if one is stabbed in what would generally be considered a fatal way and if a man blessed with stench-earth was called in time he would save him. The same cure is effected in cases of broken arms and of
[752] patients who are on the point of death. It is for this reason that those blessed with the stench-earth medicines are always praised, and that the people say "They surely are in charge of life; for their blessings really come from the spirits, just as they claim."[3]

756 [The "stench-earth" medicine men could undoubtedly cure the
[754] sick, but they also used it to poison people. The courting medicine was a poison medicine, and therefore it was not good. These people cured the body, but they killed the soul. It would have been much better had they saved their souls. They were really working for the devil. It is from him that they got all the bad medicines. When-
754 ever they were offended, they would go and get poisons to kill the
●774 offender. Thus the devil[4] was really causing them to kill their own souls and the souls of those they poisoned. It is the same with all

[3] The following portion in brackets is the comment of our informant, who is a member of the Peyote sect.

[4] Although he really means the Christian devil many of the traits of the old Winnebago deity Hare-ge'ninu, the chief of the bad spirits, are clearly discernible.

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the other medicines, like the courting medicine, etc. The Indians were destroying their own souls. So Earthmaker decided to give them a new medicine. We have now all broken away from the old things. We have broken away from the devil and are earning our salvation through Earthmaker. For this reason I am thankful both for my sake and that of my people.] 754 774

This is a medicine that is good for consumption, for stomach trouble, for a cold, for a sore throat, and for general illnesses. It consists of the following ingredients: 757 278

1. Waraxa'dax hoake'rera, English unknown.
2. Waraxa'dax ma^{a}ŋap'a'rara, English unknown.
3. Enai'^{a}teox maŋk'a'^{a}na, English unknown.
4. Niru'teera, red water.
5. Maŋk'a'^{a}skaka, white medicine.
6. Maŋk'a'^{a} niyeteo'teera, medicine of the water.
7. Ci'xuk'uniŋa, English unknown.
8. Maŋk'a^{a}ŋo'xeela, English unknown.

If a woman has any trouble with her womb this medicine will cure her immediately. She must not, however, drink it, but inject it. It makes no difference how severe her illness is, this medicine will always effect a cure. This man was blessed with the knowledge of its efficacy.

This is another medicine:

1. Maŋk'a^{a} manup'ara'ra, medicine that spreads over the ground.
2. Xa^{a}wiwingi'ekera, medicine to tie with.
3. Maŋk'a'^{a} p'orop'orora, round medicine.
4. Hap'o'skra, English unknown.
5. Maŋk'a'^{a} kere'xera, sweet flag.
6. Na^{a}p'aca'k'onaŋk' hura, English unknown.
7. Hunte p'istara, bear liver.

This is all ground together and mixed with water. When thoroughly mixed it is put into a bladder and injected by means of a wing bone.

This is a medicine for diarrhea:

1. K'etcê'ŋk'sire teo'ra, English unknown,
2. Aconi ho-ap hodô'p'iricera, curled sumac leaves.
3. Maŋk'a'ni teteo'teera, medicine of the water.
4. Waraxadax skaka', English unknown.
5. Na^{a}da'nicura, maple sugar.

These are all ground together into a fine powder and sweetened with maple sugar. Otherwise no one would take it, for it does not taste good. It is called hasawañ'kemañk'.

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775 of a lively kind all the time. From that place we went up to the
539 place where Earthmaker lived and there I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too, and, indeed, I was like one of them.

From that place I came to this earth again for the third time, and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

●774 *The concept of the soul.* This concept is not clearly developed as a
775 separate entity among the Winnebago on account of their strong belief in reincarnation. Their notion of the soul is merged in that of the noncorporeal ghost who eventully comes to earth again.

THE COSMOLOGICAL IDEAS

772 The cosmological ideas are of two types those that are clearly of
773 a folkloristic origin and those that have been developed by shamanistic reinterpretations. To the former class belong all the creative acts of the tricksters and culture heroes, like *Wak'djuk'aga* and Hare, and to the latter the systematic creation of the world by Earthmaker.

What is probably the oldest form of the Winnebago cosmological notions is that concerned with the general destruction of the bad spirits by Hare and by such spirits as the Thunderbirds, Morning Star, etc., and the removal of obstacles. Often the present characteristics of the earth are formed accidentally, as, for instance, the origin of the valleys, mountains, and lakes, as given in the myth of "Holy One." Even in the thoroughly remodeled general origin myth, Earthmaker is not conceived of as having purposely created the world.

772 The Winnebago believed that there were four worlds, one beneath the other, presided over, respectively, by Earthmaker, Trickster (*Wak'djuk'aga*), Turtle, and Hare. Hare rules over the world on which man lives. There seems to be some confusion as to who rules over the last earth, because it is also definitely stated that Traveler (a Water-spirit) is in control of it.

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head eating. Then the donor selected his partners. The host then began to sing. The scalp was taken down from the post and placed in a dish near the door. The soul of the scalp still remained within it, so they tried again to make it less powerful and to conquer it, for they knew that if they succeeded in conquering it all the life that was still coming to the possessor of the scalp at his death would be obtained for themselves. Then the dancers and the feasters, indeed all who had counted coup, tried to obtain some of the dead enemy's residuary life. All tried to add some new life to their own. 727 796 [774]

When the meal was over, then the host offered tobacco to the spirits, and all those present prayed for what to the spirits to whom offerings had been made. They asked that if it be their good fortune to kill a number of people on the warpath, when they returned home they would be as thankful as they are now. All these warriors who were taking part in this dance liked it very much. [782]

Then the host struck the drum that had been placed in front of him and sang. When he finished, he had the drum placed in front of the man who had counted first coup. Then this man sang and the drum was passed to the next man, and so on until each man had sung. After all had sung and spoken the men and women together danced around the lodge. The woman who had received the presents led the dance, carrying the scalp. The people believed that the scalp was dancing with them. All night they danced the *hok'-ixe're* dance without resting at any time, and when the sun appeared they took the drum outside to the post and danced the victory dance. Then when the sun was high in the heavens they stopped and went to sleep. In the evening when the sun was low they danced the victory dance again, and then when it was pretty dark, singing slow songs, they slowly entered the lodge again. Then they made a circuit of the lodge and placed the drum in the middle of the lodge.

The feast was now ready. All that they were to eat—deer, bear, dog were placed in front of the feasters. Food was brought to the donor and all those who were sitting together with him, as well as all those who had counted coup and all the women who had received presents. Head eating is holy, and if one eats part of the head it is thought that it will help him greatly. [783] [264]

Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"The servants who are carrying the food around here will probably not have enough to go around, but you must remember that not the men but the women are furnishing the food. Although it is little, I hope you will eat it. We will now sing four songs." Then he sang two war-bundle songs and two night songs. Before they ate the host rose and spoke, "This is a small feast and we will try to give food to our grandfather (some spirit) who is in charge of this

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159 Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they
794 sang again.
796 After midnight, every once in a while (I heard) someone cry. In
276 some cases they would go up to the leader and talk with him. He would stand up and pray with them. They told me what they were saying. They said that they were asking (people) to pray for them, as they were sorry for their sins and that they might be prevented from committing them again. That is what they were saying. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened. (I noticed also) that when I closed my eyes and sat still, I began to see strange things. I did not get sleepy in the least. Thus the light (of morning) came upon me. In the morning, as the sun rose, they stopped. They all got up and prayed to Earthmaker (God) and then they stopped.

159 During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. My actions
276 were a little different (from my usual ones). Then they said, "To-
794 night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that is the best (thing) to do and thus you can learn it (the ceremony) right away. It is said that their spirits wander
● [774] over all the earth and the heavens also. All this you will learn and see," they said. "At times they die and remain dead all night and all day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker (God), it is said." One would also be able to see where the bad spirit lived, it was said.

So we went there again. I doubted all this. I thought that what they were saying was untrue. However, I went along anyhow. When we got there, I had already eaten some peyote, for I had taken three during the day. Now near the peyote meeting an (Indian) feast was being given and I went there instead. When I reached the place, I saw a long lodge. The noise was terrific. They were beating an enormous drum. The sound almost raised me in the air, so (pleasurably) loud did it sound to me. Not so (pleasurable) had things appeared at those affairs (peyote meetings) that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. About day I left and when I got back the peyote meeting was still going on. When I got back they told me to sit down at a certain place. They treated me very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I heard that they were going to have another meeting near by on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote the whole day at the place where we were staying. We were staying at the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys there taught me a few songs. "Say, when you learn how to sing, you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice," they said to me. I thought so myself.

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After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*na-yi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

I Eat the Peyote

that Earthmaker was good and that the peyote was good, and that whosoever ate the peyote would be able to free himself from the bad spirit. They said that Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they sang again. 159* 795 796

After midnight I would every now and then hear some one cry. In some cases I saw a person go up to the leader and talk to him. He would stand up and pray with him. I was told what these people were saying. I was told that these people were asking others to pray for them for they were sorry for the sins they had committed and wished to be prevented from committing them again. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened, especially when I noticed that when I closed my eyes and sat still, strange things began to appear before me. I was not in the least sleepy. Then the light of morning came upon me. In the morning, when the sun rose, the ceremony stopped. All got up and prayed to Earthmaker and left. 159* 795 786

During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. My actions, however, were a little different from my usual ones. Then the people said, "To-night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that this is the best thing to do for then, you can learn the ceremony immediately. It is said that the souls of the members of the peyote ceremony wander all over the earth and the heavens. All this you will learn and see." They continued, "At times the members die and remain dead all night and day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker, it is 159* 795 [774]